

# THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LXV. VOL. III. No. 12.]

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15TH, 1842.

[PRICE FOURPENCE.]

## THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. WILD, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. EVERETT, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum.

\* \* Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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## THE TRUE STATE OF BRITISH GUIANA.

[From the *Guiana Gazette and Advertiser*.]

THE delay in the departure of the mail enables us to write a few words by way of diminishing a little, if it be possible, the consternation, fear, and trembling, which no doubt will seize upon the ministry—all those who had any thing to do with bringing about emancipation—all proprietors of property in this colony or holders of liens upon it—the editors of the *London Times* and *Morning Herald*—and, indeed, the whole universal world, when they come to read the “summary to go by the packet” which the *Guiana Times* has concocted for this mail.

This summary consists of several parts, of which the principal are, firstly, an announcement (positively final and for the last time) that the colony is now certainly ruined beyond all question, or redemption; secondly, speculations upon the cause of the said ruin; and, thirdly, the determination of the *Times* that the combined court shall refuse to vote any supplies, in order that the affairs of the colony may be brought before parliament, the causes of its ruin may be investigated, and the guilty parties punished. Whether, after this process, the colony, notwithstanding its total ruin is again to revive and be made to flourish, is not positively stated, lest it might tend to discredit the fact of ruin altogether; but, unless this is to be the result, why make all this stir and trouble? If we are really and truly dead and buried beyond all hope of redemption, why not let us rest in peace?

The facts upon which the *Times* rests its proof of ruin are these: plantation Enfield, in Berbice, which in 1829—that is thirteen years ago—sold for £29,000, was sold the other day at execution sale, for about £2000, and plantation Port Mourant, also in Berbice, was also sold on the 28th ult. for 35,000 dollars, whereas, before the termination of the apprenticeship—what time before! it was valued—by whom? at £35,000. Plantation Industry, in the hands of sequestrators, though a good estate, has stopped work because the court would not allow them to borrow money to carry it on till the execution sale; plantation Schoon Oord, for which fifteen months ago £36,000 were refused, when it was in the hands of a single proprietor, now that it is under the management of three executors and nine heirs, who possibly are not very unanimous about the management of it, and who are anxious to realize—might perhaps be bought for something like £20,000. Rome and Houston, instead of making 700 hogsheads, as the governor prophesied it would do, made last year only 600; and other properties belonging to the same gentleman are doing badly. However, the governor was a better prophet in this case than a certain experienced planter, patriot, and speculator, who, it was thought, had a mind to buy Houston himself, and who openly prophesied in the colonial legislature, about the same time, that it would make no sugar at all. Plantation Vrow Anna was

bought three years ago, on credit, for a very large price, and the sureties given for payment have since become insolvent. Plantation Nonpareil, bought last year for £30,000, though a good bargain, is now in the market, and may be bought, for the *Times* will not venture to say what price.”

It omits to add, however, that the principal owner of it has suffered severely from speculations having no connection whatever with this plantation, nor with any other, and that his necessities oblige him to sell. Finally, a nameless plantation up the river, which somebody remembers some time or other to have made 480 hogsheads in one year, and which was bought last year for 50,000 dollars, has lately been offered for 30,000 dollars, without bidders.

Such are the particular facts, upon which the *Times* relies to prove that the colony is totally ruined. To which we reply, that, although the sale of a number of plantations at high prices proves, beyond all question, that at the time of the sale a high value is put upon that kind of property, yet the low price or unproductiveness of three or four, or even ten or fifteen particular estates, affords no proof whatever of a deterioration in the general value of sugar properties. Everybody who knows anything of property in this colony, knows that estates are liable to a thousand accidents, especially in what regards the drainage, and as to the supply of labour, and the method of cultivation, which may greatly reduce the value of particular estates in a very short period, though other estates in the immediate neighbourhood, and the great bulk of the estates in the colony, may still retain their value. Indeed, if we would condescend to make use of the same special pleading which was employed upon the governor's despatches a year or two ago, giving an enumeration of the estates in the colony which had sold for high prices, we might make out a very plausible case with respect to each of the estates above named, showing very good reasons for their particular depreciation.

But we despise all such quibbling; and, though all that the *Times* states has very little tendency to establish any such fact, we shall yet state, of our own knowledge, that estates at present may be bought for less money than they could have been two or three years ago. At that time a great spirit of speculation prevailed; the price of sugar was high, and had been so for some four or five years preceding, and promised to go higher. The estates, during the apprenticeship, had made more money than they ever did in any period of four years since they were established; and people were deluded by golden dreams of an immigration loan, and a great influx of immigrants; and it was thought if one could but get a sugar plantation on any terms, that his fortune was made.

Times have now altered. The money pressure at home is felt here. Sugar has fallen, and is like to fall more. Very few immigrants have come in, and those at a great price; it is evident, that many heavy expenditures made upon estates during the past two years were injudicious and unproductive; that those who bought estates without capital, hoping to pay for them in three or four years out of the proceeds will find themselves mistaken, and that the estates which they bought on credit and cannot pay for must come to the hammer. All these circumstances have tended greatly to reduce prices. Many wish to sell, but few wish to buy. Let us add, that a false and exaggerated value was always placed upon estates here, and that nobody ever made money as proprietors in this colony except a few mercantile houses at home, who were not planters merely, but shippers also and sellers, and whose immense capital enabled them to wait for years, and to persevere through great losses, till at length high prices for a few years, or a few extraordinary crops, would make up for all; who did not risk every thing upon a single plantation, but who had a dozen, and whose losses upon some were made up by their gains upon others. The *Times* truly remarks, and when we can extract a particle of truth from that journal we desire to give all due credit, that “there are instances, as well known as curious, of gentlemen who, after having been for several years most successful attorneys, become most unfortunate proprietors.” This in fact is the general rule. An attorney has little more to do than to pocket his commissions, and one may be very skilful at that without any great skill at managing a plantation, or anything else. We join with Lord Stanley in begging the proprietors to come among us, in order that they may introduce a totally new system of management. The present system never can go on, and we will take an early opportunity to show why. As to the present proprietors among us, most of them are too much hampered with mortgages to have any power over their estates, and they ought rather to be considered as tenants at will than as proprietors.



But, says the *Times*, there is no hope for the future, for the labourers are rapidly quitting the field, and becoming proprietors, and these new proprietors are invincibly lazy, or, if they work, they cultivate provisions, and not the staples.

Ever since the final cession of this colony to Great Britain in 1815, the effective labouring population has been constantly diminishing. The slave registrations showed a regular annual diminution to the amount of about 1500 in the slave population, ascribed then to the climate, but thought now—for, since immigration has been in vogue, the climate has been very salubrious—to have originated from over hard work. At present, the population is annually increasing; but at the same time, a certain number of labourers—perhaps about the same number that used annually to be demolished—withdraw from the plantations, buy land, build cottages, and cultivate provisions. This appears to us to be better than having them worked to death, according to the old system; and therefore we do not think that this fact makes out a decided case against the labourers. If they apply their labour to raising provisions, they show their wisdom. In no country in the world is food so dear as in this colony; and so large a part of our food is imported, that it is actually cheaper at present to live in town than in the country, which is one reason of the rapid growth of the town, and the flocking of the labourers into it. It is not true, however, that the new freeholders do no plantation work. They do a great deal; and several plantations are almost entirely worked by them.

Although at this moment the colony holds out little promise to speculators on a large scale, and though those proprietors who are burdened with debts, are in great danger of being obliged to part with their property—yet that from among the labouring classes, there is fast arising a new class who are at once labourers and capitalists. Those proprietors at home who have clear estates, and who are not engaged in more important matters, if they will come among us, and if they have sagacity and business talent, may yet find plentiful opportunity and means to continue the cultivation of their lands, or to dispose of them to advantage. If, however, they prefer to leave their affairs in the hands of old school attorneys, let them abide the consequences.

It is a favourite doctrine of the *Guiana Times*, upon which it is for ever harping, that the new freeholders do not engage in the cultivation of the staples—by which it means sugar and coffee—and, therefore, do not contribute to the wealth and prosperity of the colony. Not only is this doctrine theoretically false, but it proceeds also upon a false statement of facts.

Plantains and other articles of provision are just as much items of wealth, and contributions to the wealth of the colony, as coffee and sugar. The population cannot live, nor can sugar and coffee be produced, without provisions; and the extreme scarcity and high price of provisions is one principal cause of the expensiveness of every thing else in the colony. In those days when sugar-growing was most profitable, every sugar plantation had its plantain walk; and the cultivators were fed principally by the produce of their own lands. The high prices of sugar which have prevailed during the last seven years, and the scarcity of labour consequent on emancipation, caused the estates' plantain walks to be almost every where abandoned; and, if the new freeholders have given their chief attention to the cultivation of provisions, they have turned their industry into a highly necessary and useful channel. To state, however, that they have abandoned the cultivation of the staples, is totally untrue. It is true that, on the estates which they have purchased, all of which were either abandoned estates or else in plantains, they have not yet introduced the cultivation of sugar and coffee. It requires no small amount of capital—according to the extravagant processes of this colony, £15,000 or £20,000 at least—to put an estate into sugar; and coffee must be waited upon three or four years before the cultivators can begin to expect a crop. The Victoria people, though they do not yet make sugar on their own account, are the principal labourers on the neighbouring sugar estate, John and Cove, where upwards of eighty of them have regularly been employed for the last five months, doing six days' labour a-week. Indeed, without these people, the estate could not be cultivated at all, as the engineer, boiler-men, and, indeed, all the head men are part proprietors of Victoria.

Nor is this a solitary instance: Plantation No. 17, on the west coast of Berbice, distant about twelve miles from New Amsterdam, is an entirely new sugar estate, belonging to Mr. Blair, put into canes since emancipation, and expected to produce this year six hundred hogsheads of sugar. It is wholly worked by the freehold proprietors of lots No. 19 and 21, in its immediate vicinity. These lots were abandoned cotton estates, bought up and settled upon by the labourers, many of whom had been removed from the vicinity fifteen or sixteen years before, and carried to the islands of the Essequibo, but who embraced the earliest opportunity in their power of returning to the place of their birth, and buying land there. Indeed, it was the settlement of these people near by that first suggested to the proprietor of No. 17 the idea of erecting sugar works, and putting the land into sugar—an experiment which, thus far, has been wholly successful, and which promises to continue so. In this case, the great outlay usually necessary for the erection of labourers' cottages was wholly avoided.

Plantation Albion, on the east coast of Berbice, has also been planted in canes since emancipation. It is a fine promising estate, and is chiefly cultivated by the freeholders in the neighbourhood. That, for the first year or so after the freeholders obtain possession of their land, they should withdraw themselves in a

great measure, from plantation labour, is inevitable. Their first business is to build a house, and to put their plots of land into cultivation; and any one who travels through the colony, and sees the number of freehold cottages erecting, many of them extremely neat and comfortable, and observes the thrifty and clean appearance of their provision grounds, will be slow to believe those charges of invincible indolence and laziness which the *Times* brings against them. As these freeholders finish their houses, and get their land into order, they return gradually to plantation labour, leaving their lands to be taken care of by their wives and children. This is the case with the Victoria people, those who work regularly on the John and Cove having gradually increased from twenty or thirty to the present number.

If it be true, then, as the *Times* asserts, that the proprietors, in selling land to the labourers, do it only out of sheer necessity, and with the belief that they are destroying themselves, we can only say, that, in this case at least, they are making themselves miserable without the slightest occasion. We look upon the employment of task gangs composed of freehold labourers, for putting in new fields, for throwing out drains and trenches, for cutting canes, and transporting them to the buildings—indeed for all the work of a plantation, except the light weedings and the manufacture of sugar, if not also for that, as one great means of economizing time and money, inspiring the labourers with a spirit of continuous industry, and above all, of economy and productiveness in the application of labour.

#### MR. WEBSTER AND THE CREOLE.

DR. CHANNING has put forth a pamphlet on the case of the *Creole*, full of noble sentiments, and handling in a very masterly manner the letter of the American secretary to the British government. The extract we give below exposes the doctrine, that, because men are made property of by some states, they ought to be recognized as property by all others.

A grand principle is involved in the case, or rather lies at its very foundation, and to this I ask particular attention. This principle is, that a man, as a man, has rights, has claims on his race, which are in no degree touched or impaired on account of the manner in which he may be regarded or treated by a particular clan, tribe, or nation of his fellow-creatures. A man by his very nature, as an intelligent, moral creature of God, has claims to aid and kind regard from all other men. There is a grand law of humanity more comprehensive than all others, and under which every man should find shelter. He has not only a right, but is bound, to use freely and improve the powers which God has given him; and other men, instead of obstructing, are bound to assist their development and exertion. These claims a man does not derive from the family or tribe in which he began his being. They are not the growth of a particular soil; they are not ripened under a peculiar sky; they are not written on a particular complexion; they belong to human nature. The ground on which one man asserts them all men stand on, nor can they be denied to one without being denied to all. We have here a common interest. We must all stand or fall together. We all have claims on our race, claims of kindness and justice, claims grounded on our relation to our common Father, and on the inheritance of a common nature.

Because a number of men invade the rights of a fellow-creature, and pronounce him destitute of rights, his claims are not a whit touched by this. He is as much a man as before. Not a single gift of God, on which his rights rest, is taken away. His relations to the rest of his race are in no measure affected. He is as truly their brother as if his tribe had not pronounced him a brute. If indeed any change take place, his claims are enhanced, on the ground that the suffering and injured are entitled to peculiar regard. If any rights should be singularly sacred in our sight, they are those which are denied and trodden in the dust.

It seems to be thought by some, that a man derives all his rights from the nation to which he belongs. They are gifts of the state, and the state may take them away if it will. A man, it is thought, has claims on other men, not as a man, but as an Englishman, an American, or a subject of some other state. He must produce his parchment of citizenship before he binds other men to protect him, to respect his free agency, to leave him the use of his powers according to his own will. Local, municipal law is thus made the fountain and measure of rights. The stranger must tell us where he was born, what privileges he enjoyed at home, or no tie links us to one another.

In conformity to these views, it is thought that, when one community declares a man to be a slave, other communities must respect this decree; that the duties of a foreign nation to an individual are to be determined by a brand set on him on his own shores; that his relations to the whole race may be affected by the local act of a community, no matter how small or how unjust.

This is a terrible doctrine. It strikes a blow at all the rights of human nature. It enables the political body to which we belong, no matter how wicked or weak, to make each of us an outcast from his race. It makes a man nothing in himself. As a man he has no significance. He is sacred only as far as some state has taken him under its care. Stripped of his nationality, he is at the mercy of all who may incline to lay hold on him. He may be seized, imprisoned, sent to work in galleys or mines, unless some foreign state spreads its shield over him as one of its citizens.

This doctrine is as false as it is terrible. Man is not the mere creature of the state. Man is older than nations, and he is to survive nations. There is a law of humanity more primitive and divine than the law of the land. He has higher claims than those of a citizen. He has rights which date before all charters and communities; not conventional, not repealable, but as eternal as the powers and laws of his being.

This annihilation of the individual by merging him in the state, lies at the foundation of despotism. The nation is too often the grave of the man. This is the more monstrous, because the very end of the state, of the organization of the nation, is to secure the individual in all his rights, and especially to secure the rights of the weak. Here is the fundamental



idea of political association. In an unorganized society, with no legislation, no tribunal, no umpire, rights have no security. Force predominates over right. This is the grand evil of what is called the state of nature. To repress this, to give right the ascendancy over force, this is the grand idea and end of government, of country, of political constitutions. And yet we are taught that it depends on the law of a man's country, whether he shall have rights, and whether other states shall regard him as a man! When cast on a foreign shore, his country, and not his humanity, is to be inquired into, and the treatment he receives is to be proportioned to what he meets at home!

Men worship power, worship great organizations, and overlook the individual; and few things have depraved the moral sentiment of men more, or brought greater woes on the race. The state, or the ruler in whom the state is embodied, continues to be worshipped, notwithstanding the commission of crimes which would inspire horror in the private man. How insignificant are the robberies, murders, piracies, which the law makes capital, in comparison with an unjust or unnecessary war, dooming thousands, perhaps millions, of the innocent to the most torturing forms of deaths, or with the law of an autocrat or of a public body, depriving millions of all the rights of men! But these, because the acts of the state, escape the execrations of the world.

In consequence of this worship of governments, it is thought that their relations to one another are alone important. A government is too great to look at a stranger, except as he is incorporated with some state. It can have nothing to do but with political organizations like itself. But the humble stranger has a claim on it as sacred as another state. Standing alone, he yet has rights, and to violate them is as criminal as to violate stipulations with a foreign power. In one view it is baser. It is as true of governments as of individuals, that it is base and unmanly to trample on the weak. He who invades the strong shows a courage which does something to redeem his violence; but to tread on the neck of a helpless friendless fellow-creature, is to add meanness to wrong.

If the doctrine be true, that the character impressed on a man at home follows him abroad, and that he is to be regarded not as a man, but as the local laws which he has left regard him, why shall not this apply to the peculiar advantages as well as disadvantages which a man enjoys in his own land? Why shall not he whom the laws invest with a right to universal homage at home, receive the same tribute abroad? Why shall not he whose rank exempts him from the ordinary restraints of law on his own shores, claim the same lawlessness elsewhere? Abroad these distinctions avail him nothing. The local law which makes him a kind of deity, deserts him the moment he takes a step beyond his country's borders; and why shall the disadvantages, the terrible wrongs, which that law inflicts, follow the poor sufferer to the end of the earth?

I repeat it, for the truth deserves reiteration, that all nations are bound to respect the rights of every human being. This is God's law as old as the world. No local law can touch it. No ordinance of a particular state, degrading a set of men to chattels, can absolve all nations from the obligation of regarding the injured beings as men, or bind them to send back the injured to their chains. The character of a slave attached to a man by a local government, is not and cannot be incorporated into his nature. It does not cling to him, go where he will. The scar of slavery on his back does not reach his soul. The arbitrary relation between him and his master cannot suspend the primitive, indestructible relation by which God binds him to his kind.

The idea that a particular state may fix, enduringly, this stigma on a human being, and can bind the most just and generous men to respect it, should be rejected with scorn and indignation. It reminds us of those horrible fictions, in which some demon is described as stamping an indelible mark of hell on his helpless victims. It was the horrible peculiarity of the world in the reign of Tiberius, that it had become one vast prison. The unhappy man on whom the blighting suspicion of the tyrant had fallen, could find no shelter or escape through the whole civilized regions of the globe. Everywhere his sentence followed him like fate. And can the law of a despot, or of a chamber of despots, extend now the same fearful doom to the ends of the earth? Can a little state at the south spread its web of cruel, wrongful legislation over both continents? Do all communities become spell-bound by a law in a single country creating slavery? Must they become the slave's jailers? Must they be less merciful than the storm which drives off the bondman from the detested shore of servitude, and casts him on the soil of freedom? Must even that soil become tainted by an ordinance passed, perhaps, in another hemisphere? Has oppression this terrible omnipresence? Must the whole earth register the slave-holders' decree? Then the earth is blighted indeed. Then, as some ancient sects taught, it is truly the empire of the Principle of Evil, of the Power of Darkness. Then God is dethroned here; for, where injustice and oppression are omnipotent, God has no empire.

#### SLAVE-TRADE IN TRIPOLI.

We insert below an interesting letter of Colonel Warrington, the British Consul at Tripoli, intended to turn the tribes in the interior of Africa away from the slave-trade, by drawing their attention to other articles of traffic within their reach.

From the *Malta Times*.

We are favoured with the following *Circular*, which, translated into Arabic, is to be circulated throughout the interior and along the coast of northern Africa. It does credit to the head and the heart of our worthy consul, Colonel Warrington. We are informed that the *Locust*, steam tender, left some few days ago for Tripoli, to convey thence the Colonel to the Syrtis, where it is expected that he will have an important meeting of the Arab chiefs, and confer with them upon the mode of immediately putting a stop to the importation of slaves from the interior to the coast.

#### CIRCULAR.

The benevolent and humane feeling of the people of England to better the condition of the black tribes of the interior of Africa, and the anxious desire of my august mistress, the Queen of England, to abolish the revolting traffic in the flesh and blood of our fellow-creatures, induce me to address these few words to every good man.

The object of the traffic in slaves is *gain*, and habit has reconciled it to those who trade therein, without considering the enormity of the crime of taking by force the infant from its mother—or separating the wife from her husband—and dragging the victims over the burning sands of the desert—where they often expire under the lash of the slave-driver!—towards the coast, to be exhibited in the public bazaar, and thence transported to a foreign land, where they are sold to gratify the avarice or the passions of man.

One great God rules over all, both the black and the white! And can we bring our minds to believe that He can sanction such abominable acts of cruelty to our fellow-creatures?

Believe me, No. His mercy, his forgiveness, his benevolence and justice, extend to all his creatures. The black and the white enjoy his almighty care.

It is evident that the object is *gain*. I, therefore, in the name of my sovereign, and common humanity, call your attention to a more honourable pursuit in commerce, where the profit and advantages will be ten or a hundred fold. Look to the natural resources of the interior, where the following articles invite you to trade therein:—gold dust, ivory, ostrich feathers, gum, skins, indigo, senna, &c. Abolish now this inhuman traffic in your fellow-creatures—open a communication with the natives of the interior—assure them that they can carry on trade in perfect security to life and property through those territories under your immediate control, and allow the few regular traders to pass by you unmolested, and assist their lawful traffic.

Then you will have done a humane and benevolent act, which God will approve, in thus diffusing plenty and happiness to millions of your fellow-creatures.

Your own consciences will then tell you that you have done well; you will become rich and happy by a commercial intercourse with the interior, and you will obtain the permanent friendship of England, who will not be unmindful of the great and noble act of your abolishing slavery, and promoting commerce and civilisation throughout Central Africa.

These objects are the cherished wish of my heart—and to see the regency of Tripoli the land of justice, prosperity riches and happiness, is my fervent prayer.

(Signed)

H. WARRINGTON.

British Consulate, 26th March, 1842.

#### FRANCE.

[From a Correspondent in Paris.]

The French chamber has closed its session of 1842 in full re-action against emancipation. You remember that, during your stay in Paris, the chamber of Peers passed a law to re-establish the payment of debts by expropriation in the Antilles. This, which was adopted by a great majority, was carried to the chamber of deputies, and has there been abandoned by ministers.

Another law has been presented to the chamber of deputies, at the request of the colonial government, in order to withdraw from the colonial councils the electoral power, which they have abused since their formation in 1833, to create difficulties in the way of emancipation, and to oppress the coloured class. This measure was approved by the commission of the chamber, and, notwithstanding, M. Guizot himself abandoned it in the sitting of the 20th of May.

During one of the last parliamentary discussions, however, upon the right of search, on the 20th and 21st of May, speakers of all opinions said, that, while opposing this concession, they desired emancipation, as a more direct and efficient means of attaining the object.

If M. Guizot was really devoted to the cause of emancipation, he ought to have pressed this question in the chamber, and to have supported with firmness the two colonial laws; in short, he ought to have urged the commission presided over by the Duke of Broglie to terminate its labours, and to present its plan of emancipation.

Well: would you believe it? This commission is adjourned! So that the Duke de Broglie has been able to read only one-third of his report. Two plans are proposed as practicable. One is emancipation by the successive purchase of the children to be born; the other is emancipation, simultaneous, but with a period of apprenticeship of considerable length, and with a large indemnity, which the state of our finances, absorbed by the vote for railways, will not permit to be voted.

It is thus shown that our government only desires to gain time, in order to disembarass itself of this question. If it would have signed the treaty of the 20th December, 1841, it had not, be assured, any interest in emancipation, but merely desired to enter into the European comity—to be a party to the treaty of five powers. This conviction has rendered the treaty odious to such a degree, that the French nation would expose themselves to a war rather than accede to it. If the government really wish to do anything for humanity, it must abandon the treaty, and work vigorously on the question of the abolition of slavery, on which it would have the national sympathy on its side.

The general elections will take place within a month; we are preparing ourselves for them. The rallying cry of the opposition will be *no right of search*; our cry will be *emancipation! emancipation!*



## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

**Anti-Slavery Reporter.**

LONDON, JUNE 15TH.

THE attention of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has already been directed to preliminary measures, connected with the next Anti-Slavery Convention, which is to be held in June, 1843. The following circular was agreed on at their meeting on Monday last, and the note of preparation will, we doubt not, awaken many sympathetic feelings, not only in this country, but throughout the globe.

## TO THE FRIENDS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.

At the close of the GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, held in London, on the 12th, and continued by adjournment to the 23rd inclusive, of June, 1840, it was unanimously resolved—

"That it be left to the discretion of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society to decide, after consulting with the friends of the cause of abolition, the time and place of holding the said next convention."

In conformity with this resolution, and after having maturely weighed the great importance and probable beneficial influence of the step on the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade; after having also consulted with, and obtained the full concurrence of, friends of the Anti-slavery cause on both sides of the Atlantic, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society have fixed the period for calling the Second General Convention of Abolitionists from all parts of the world, on Tuesday, the 19th of June, 1843, in London.

In transmitting this intimation, the Committee feel it to be their duty gratefully to record the success which attended the deliberations and suggestions of the first Convention, and would earnestly press the necessity and importance of a personal attendance of the friends of the cause at the second.

The Committee beg to remind all who may attend, that the principles to be strictly adhered to, as laid down in the proceedings of the first Convention, are—

"That, so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings—that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a *moral, religious, and pacific character*; and that no measures be resorted to by this Society in the prosecution of these objects but such as are in entire accordance with these principles."

Where societies exist for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, or bodies, though not bearing that name, uniting in these great objects, the Committee trust that an effort will be made to secure, by specific appointment, the attendance of one or more gentlemen, as their representatives; and express provision will be made for the admission of gentlemen uniting in the objects and principles of this Society from foreign countries, where, from any circumstances, such associations do not exist.

Such gentlemen are, therefore, cordially invited to meet the representatives of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and those of kindred institutions in Great Britain and Ireland, on this important occasion.

As the Committee have not yet been able to prepare any document for the purpose of eliciting information in detail on the various topics that will be brought before the Convention, permit them, by way of anticipating it, to request that all the friends to the cause, will, as far as they can, collect facts and arrange information—on the extent and character of slavery and the slave-trade, in British India, and the settlements of this country in the east, in Egypt, the United States, and Texas, in Brazil, in the Spanish, French, Dutch, Danish and Swedish colonies, and in such of the South American republics as may still retain it, and the state of public opinion, and feeling relative thereto—on the results of emancipation in the several British colonies in the West Indies, South America, Africa, and the Indian ocean, in the free states of the American Union, Mexico, and such of the South American Republics as have finally terminated it—on the comparative cost of free and slave-labour—on the state of civilization, morals, and religion, in the countries where slavery exists—and on the nature and extent of the efforts which are now being made in any of these countries for its abolition, and the nature of the difficulties to be encountered and overcome.

The Committee feel great satisfaction in forwarding this invitation. The existence of slavery in any form, or however sanctioned, is abhorrent to the principles of justice, a daring outrage on our common humanity, and in direct violation of the sacred claims of religion; and as such will be reprobated by all who feel interested in the welfare and happiness of the human race, the establishment of freedom throughout the world, and the progress of righteousness and peace among the great family of mankind.

Signed in the name and on behalf of the Committee,

WILLIAM ALLEN, Chairman.

London, 27, New Broad Street, June 13, 1842.

WE are sorry to disappoint the expectation of such of our readers as may be looking for the evidence on the Jamaica immigration scheme. The apology we have to make is, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have, upon further examination of it, deemed it so important, that they have requested an interview with Lord Stanley on the subject before giving it to the world.

So great importance is attached at the present moment to the condition of British Guiana, and such strenuous—we might say suicidal—efforts are now making to represent it as in a state of absolute ruin, that we have devoted a considerable space to-day to an article from the *Guiana Gazette and Advertiser*, adapted to correct the exaggerations which are obtaining currency on this subject, and those of the *Guiana Times* in particular. This journal which, in obvious defiance of all honesty and candour, is evidently working for a party purpose, makes a loud complaint that the peasant proprietors of estates will not cultivate sugar. We say that the white proprietors will not let them cultivate it. Here is the matter:—

The purchasers of the *New Orange Nassau*, did immediately after that property fell into their hands, commence to pay every attention to three fields of canes, which were planted a very short time previous to their taking over the estate. From the attention bestowed by them on the canes, they promised a very fair return; they felt also encouraged by the luxuriant appearance of the cane fields to extend the cultivation; but, not having their own machineries, they thought it would be more prudent to ascertain how far the manager and part proprietor of the neighbouring estate would fulfil his promise to them, in permitting them to manufacture their sugar with his machineries, ere they attempted to extend their cane cultivation, which precaution proved very prudent, as will be evinced by the unhappy circumstance which I shall now relate. The time arrived when the canes were ripe and fit to cut, the breasts of their friends, who anticipated the pleasure of seeing the first hoghead of sugar produced by their lately emancipated brethren from their own plantation were transported with joy. But alas! their expectation, this time were only raised to be disappointed. The canes were cut, and three punts filled, to be taken over to the next estate; the manager and part proprietor of which had entered into an agreement to allow them to manufacture the same with his machineries: he however, in some shape or other, threw some insurmountable obstacles in their way. Ere the difficulties were removed the canes were spoiled. Aye, the time had not yet arrived in Demerara, when the negro's cane juice should pass from the engine into the boiling-house of a white proprietor. The consequence was, the canes from which they expected to realise at least a half hoghead of sugar, only yielded a puncheon of rum. Disgusted and disappointed, in seeing that the old feeling was not as yet eradicated from the breasts of their white brethren, and not being in a capacity to purchase their own machineries to manufacture their sugar, several of them came to the resolution of cutting the remaining canes and dispose of them the best way they could; and directing their attention to the "single" cultivation of plantains. Their prudent and persevering manager (a black man), however, overruled this resolution, and proposed to them the erection of a cattle-mill, and the purchasing of a few small coppers, till they were in a capacity to do better. His simple but sound philosophical remark to me was, "Sir, we must creep before we walk."

THE last mail brings a letter from Dr. Palmer to Mr. Sturge, dated April 12th, containing the following reference to the Christmas riots at Kingston:—

Even if no direct redress be obtained, the notice of the matter in England will act as a salutary check for the future. Such notice, in fact, is the only check we now have to keep the spirit of despotism within the bounds of moderation, as the rights and interests of the humbler classes are not at all represented by the press here.

I must correct one or two errors that occurred incidentally in my letter. I stated that the military, when called out, fired with blank cartridge. This was the general impression, even with those who were on the ground. This, however, was not the case; none but the police fired. Again, McLeod was represented to have been heard giving the orders to fire: this, though positively affirmed by one witness, is flatly denied by several others. The sub-inspector, Armstrong, is reported to have been the party who gave the dreadful order. I must also do justice to another part of the question. The commission of inquiry into the circumstances, as instituted by the executive, was most judiciously and fairly appointed. The three Chairmen of Quarter Sessions who conducted the investigation are, I believe, men of the strictest integrity and impartiality. Their report may be relied on.

You will perceive by the papers that the incidents connected with the disturbance have been brought before the legal tribunals, in the form of indictments, on the one hand against parties charged with rioting, and on the other against the police charged with the murder. You will be more pained than surprised to find, that the prediction I ventured to utter in my last on this head has turned out but too true. True bills have been found by the Grand jury against the rioters, but the bills against the murderers have been thrown out!

No large amount of immigration to the West Indies is going on at present, but the eagerness for it is not at all abated. We have been particularly struck with the intimations the papers contain, that the planters will have immigration, *although it be a slave-trade*. Thus, for example, we find in the *Jamaica Morning Journal* the following sentences:—

The opinion prevails, and is increasing, that the government ought to take the measure of African immigration into their own hands. A *meagre* permission to take such Africans as are willing to come, is less than the colonies have a right to expect at the hands of the government; and they



ought to be pressed by those in England connected with Jamaica, to afford some more efficient aid in a measure of so much importance.

"Permission to take such Africans as are willing to come" is here denounced as a "meagre" measure, and "less than the colonies have a right to expect!" They must have Africans who are *not willing to come*—reluctant parties, brought by force, and this force employed by the government of Great Britain! In like manner we find a writer in the *Trinidad Standard*, in reviewing an English pamphlet, expressing himself as follows:—

An outcry has been raised, and will be continued, against African emigration, on the score of its being a *virtual slave-dealing*; but slave-dealing can scarcely be called a crime, if it rescue human beings from such a fate as described in the following extract:—

"In the year 1817, no less than 3000 slaves were immolated on the tomb of the king of Ashantee."

Here is nothing short of an avowal that the immigration coveted is to be a system of slave-dealing, with the impudent assertion appended, that it "can scarcely be called a crime!" Let the British public weigh these indications. Not only is it obvious to reflecting persons in this country that a systematic immigration from Africa must be a slave-trade, but it is clear that the planters know it will, and mean it should be so. Do the people of England mean to be parties to such a crime?

While Sir Charles Metcalfe is leaving Jamaica amidst large numbers of congratulating and flattering addresses, the sentiments of a large proportion of the population of this island towards him are expressed in the following extract from the *Baptist Herald*:—

We have no desire of denying to Sir Charles Metcalfe any honour he has merited during his residence in this island. That he has manifested towards all classes—especially the starving and dying immigrants—the loveliest of feelings we freely admit, and cheerfully award him that meed of praise which his benevolent conduct and sympathizing spirit demands. While, however, we feel it a duty to make these remarks, we must be allowed to reiterate the opinion so often expressed, that Sir Charles was never a fit person to represent government in this island. As a man of benevolent feeling we shall always admire him, but we shall ever regret that he was the governor of Jamaica. He has thrown impediments in the way of liberty's cause that will not soon be removed, and shown himself ever the tool of those who have opposed equal rights, and who have the love of oppression so deeply engraven on their hearts, that time, however lengthened it may be to them, will fail to wash it away.

As loyal and flattering addresses are being presented to Sir Charles from almost every parish, and as they are made to appear the addresses of the majority, we beg to inform our readers, both here and at home, that they are no such thing. The mass has had nothing to do with them, neither do they contain the sentiments of a fiftieth part of the population. They are, in fact, the addresses of a *certain class*, and as such Sir Charles must regard them.

WE have been startled by a cursory announcement in one of the American papers, that the governor of Canada has surrendered a fugitive slave to the executive of Arkansas. The *Liberator*, we are sorry to say, confirms this news, and supplies the following account of proceedings taken at Detroit, in the United States, on this important matter:—

#### EXTRAORDINARY CONDUCT OF THE GOVERNOR OF CANADA.

*Detroit, February 28th, 1842.*

On Monday evening, February 14, 1842, a large meeting of the coloured citizens of Detroit met at the second Baptist church, to take into consideration the situation of Nelson Hacket, now in prison in this city, having been surrendered by the governor of Canada to Lewis Davenport, on the requisition of the executive of Arkansas, as a fugitive from justice. Mr. Lightfoot, the chairman, stated, that this meeting had been called to raise funds to employ counsel, in order to ascertain if the papers sanctioning the surrender of the said Hacket were genuine, and to learn if it were possible to relieve him from his present confinement. Mr. Lightfoot said he had, in company with Messrs. Banks, Hall, and Bibbs, consulted with counsel, who gave it as their opinion, after examining the papers, that they were genuine and correctly made out; and there was no point or flaw in them on which they could institute a suit in his behalf. Mr. Munro then introduced the following resolution:—

Resolved, That a committee be appointed by this meeting to draw up a preamble and resolutions, setting forth the dangerous precedent of the government of Canada, in surrendering the said Hacket to the executive of Arkansas as a fugitive from justice, when at the same time he was a refugee from slavery.

Mr. Munro urged the adoption of this resolution after considerable discussion it was adopted. The meeting then adjourned. On Tuesday evening, February 22nd, a large meeting assembled at the same place. Mr. French fervently addressed the throne of grace. The committee who were appointed at the previous meeting reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:—

Whereas we have always viewed the British Province of Canada as an asylum for the unfortunate and oppressed slaves of the United States, and fondly believed the moment they touched those shores, that moment they were free; and whereas the Governor General did, on the 17th January, 1842, surrender one Nelson Hacket to Lewis Davenport, of the city of Detroit, state of Michigan, to be by him given up to the authorities of Arkansas as a fugitive from justice (the said Hacket having been confined several months in the jail of Sandwich, Western District, Upper Canada, and on the night of the 8th February, at a late hour, conveyed across the river, and lodged in prison in the city of Detroit); and whereas it is a settled principle in the slave code, that every slave who absconds from bondage is a fugitive from justice—a principle well understood by the British authorities, and, of course, familiar to His Excellency the Governor General; and whereas, the said Hacket was not demanded by the executive of Arkansas for the purpose of punishing him for larceny, but to punish and make an example of him for the unpardonable offence of absconding from slavery; therefore,

Resolved, That it is with sorrow we find the government of the British province of Canada countenancing and assuring the slaveholders and their

abettors of the American confederacy, by seizing and confining in prison and returning to bondage individuals who had fled to that province for protection and liberty.

Resolved, That as there are no treaty stipulations binding the two governments to surrender fugitives from justice, we cannot believe the Governor General was justified in giving up the said Hacket, even admitting him to have been guilty of the charges preferred, viz., stealing a horse and a watch.

Resolved, That, if this precedent, this sort of courtesy, is established, then Canada will no longer be a safe asylum for our unfortunate brethren who are fleeing from bondage. They will be just as safe in the states of New York, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Maine.

Resolved, That we pray our brethren in Canada to give this subject immediate and serious attention. It is of vital importance to them; and, if possible, to find out what part certain officers and counsellors at Chatham and Sandwich had in this transaction, and publish the whole affair, and by all means endeavour to stop such nefarious proceedings.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the *Signal of Liberty*, in Ann Arbor; *Liberator*, in Boston; *Philanthropist*, in Cincinnati; *Emancipator*, in New York; and all papers friendly to the rights of man.

WILLIAM C. MUNRO, *Chairman.*

ROBERT BANKS, *Secretary.*

A COMMUNICATION from our Paris correspondent inserted in another column will be read with much pain. It is a matter of sincere regret, not only to all friends of humanity and freedom, but to all well-wishers to the colonies and general prosperity of France, that the government should shrink from its important and responsible position, and enter on a course of re-action in relation to slavery. We cannot express any satisfaction even with either of the propositions contained in the report of M. de Broglie, as expounded by our correspondent. If an immediate nominal emancipation, with a long apprenticeship (the best of the two alternatives) were offered, we have had experience enough of such a plan to be justified in pronouncing it most unsatisfactory and mischievous. Even this, however, must be clogged with a large indemnity, which cannot be thought of, because the government is spending so much money upon rail-roads! As to emancipation by the successive purchase of the children to be born after a certain date, we cannot consent to apply the name of emancipation to a measure which dooms to hopeless bondage the entire existing generation of slaves.

OUR attention has been directed to some extraordinary proceedings at the meeting of the St. John del Rey Mining Company, on the 27th ult., but we must defer our notice of them till our next.

It is stated in the papers, apparently on good authority, that a proclamation has been issued at Prince Edward's Island, in the East Indies, finally abolishing slavery there. We hail this announcement with unfeigned pleasure, and the more so, since we may hope that a similar measure has been adopted in other oriental dependencies of the British crown.

#### COTTON.

We take from an American paper the following statement, which is certainly adapted to show that brother Jonathan's fears respecting the culture of cotton in India are not altogether chimerical.

Bags of cotton wool imported at Liverpool, London, and Glasgow, during the first three months of the years 1841 and 1842.

From the	1841.	1842.	Decrease.
United States,	235,756	230,021	4,835
Brazil and S. Am.,	29,954	23,121	6,833
West Indies,	1,600	447	1,153
Mediterranean,	14,312	6,239	8,073
Total,	281,662	260,728	20,894

Thus the imports from the United States decreased more than two per cent. in the first quarter of this year, and the imports from India increased nearly 136 per cent. The increase is equal to the addition of 192,616 bales of India cotton this year.

#### SLAVE-TRADE WARS.

(From the Rev. J. Beecham's *Ashantee and the Gold Coast*.)

[This narrative was written by Joseph Wright, a member of the Wesleyan society at Sierra Leone. He calls himself an *Aku*, the name by which natives of Eyeeo, or Yarriba, are generally known. The document was received by the writer from the Rev. Thomas Edwards, a missionary of the Society, on his return from Sierra Leone; and no liberties have been taken with it, except to expunge a few redundant expressions, and to introduce such slight grammatical corrections as may serve to make the meaning more apparent.]

I was born of respectable parents; but they were not very rich. My father was a member of council, and he had two wives, besides those of his father, which he left to him at his death, according to the law of our country. My mother was the first wife my father had, and she bore five children unto my father. We were all boys except one, and we all were with our parents until this last tumultuous war, which is the cause of our separation. The war had been heard of long ago; but, at the time we heard of that war in a far distant land, we confidently thought they will not come to us; but alas! in space of about seven years after, they came



to us unexpectedly, and besieged us round about. These people that raised up this war are not another nation. We are all one nation, speaking one language.

The war shut us up from all business; our enemies fighting us with all their strength, and we fighting against them with all our might, but not with hope of escape. In this miserable state we lived for about seven months, almost destitute of food. We had nothing to eat, in order to have strength to fight our enemies. In this hard case of ours we had no real god to go to for help, but we were constantly sacrificing. There is a god which we call the public god; it is the god of man, and not of woman. No woman is ever allowed to go or pass by the mountain where they place that god. The name of that god was Korowah. To this we were all looking for help; and to another, by name Turbretaru. This is woman's god; the females often killing pigeons, fowls, and sometimes bullocks, as sacrifices for their god. And these were to overcome the war which had besieged our city, besides thousands of private gods which the people kept in their houses. At last famine overcame us, so that the chosen men of war could not forbear; and one night, about seven months after the war had besieged us, they consulted together to go to another place, in order to buy us some food, to preserve us children of the land. And so they did; and in this band were my father and mother. They went to get us some food too; for they pitied us, when they saw us perishing with hunger. At the time they left me and all my brethren, they knew not that they would never see us again in the flesh; or else they would never have left us, or they would have given us a final kiss, as dear children; but they knew not what would take place after they left us. Short time after they were gone, with all the mighty men of war. May be the enemies knew this; so they got ready to take the city, before the people who had gone for food should come back. The town had become very poor for want of people to fight; because the greater part of the people determined to go to seek food.

The city was in danger of being taken every day, because there remained but women, and young men, and boys, in town. In the night, before the city was taken, the people were trying to make their escape; and many did escape. When I heard of this I took my brethren with me, and we came to the gate of the city, to make our escape, if possible. The gate was quite crowded, so that the strong were treading upon the feeble. Doubtless there were many trodden upon to death; and had I and my brethren attempted to go over the wall, we should have been trodden upon, and we should have died, the wall builded round the city was so high and strong; and besides, there was a large and very deep ditch dug round behind the wall; so that there was no way to pass, except through the gate; and we obliged to come back to our father's house, there to remain to see what would take place in the morning.

O sorrowful, sorrowful morning! when the morning came, I and my brethren took a walk about in the town, to see what the people were doing. We found the city in sorrowful silence; for many had fled, and many of the aged men had put an end to their lives. Amongst these was one in our house—my father's near and very dear relation; he had put an end to his life too.

When this elderly relation of our father, whom we should have looked to for some guidance, had put an end to his life, of course, there remained no hope in ourselves. I brought my brethren back home. The enemy had fully taken the city. When I saw none of them pass by my father's house to take us for slaves, I then took my brethren with me. We came out into the street; and when we had walked about fifty fathoms from our house, we saw the city on fire, and before us were the enemies coming in the street. We met with them, and they caught us separately. They separated me from all my brethren, except one of my father's children, born to him by his second wife; I and this were caught together by one man. By the time we left the house of our father, I saw my father's mother pass the other gate: she and I had no hope of ever seeing her again in this flesh, because she was an old woman; doubtless, they would kill her. Many were killed. They killed our captain, Jargunor, by the river side. And they killed Barlah, in his gate. He was second to the king: he was a very high man in the city: nothing can be decided without his presence.

The city was taken about nine o'clock in the morning. There were two cities beside our own that those enemies had besieged. The same day our city was taken in the morning, and the other two were taken in the afternoon, about two o'clock.

The enemies satisfied themselves with little children, little girls, young men, and young women. They did not care for the elderly and old people: they killed them without mercy; and then father knew not the son, and the son knew not the father; pity had departed from the face of mothers. Abundant heaps of dead bodies were in the streets, and there was none to bury them; suckling babes crying at the point of death, and there was none to take them up; the mothers looked upon them with neglect. These three cities were consumed in one day, and many of the inhabitants were taken as slaves by the enemies. One of our chief men of war they punished severely; his name was Ofersapu. In this manner they punished him. They first cut him in tender parts; and then they dragged him about a quarter of a mile, and put an end to his life. They took revenge on him because he was valiant in fighting them. Very many of the chief men of war they punished more severely than I can mention.

I was brought, the same day the city was taken, to Imodo, the place which they make their residence. When I came to that place, the man who seized me in the city took me and made a present of me to the chief man of war, which commanded the band which he belong to; for the custom was, when any one of their company went with bands to war, if he catch slaves, half of the slaves he would give to his captain. I was with them in the camp about ten days; during the time they used to send me for firewood. In one of the cities they took the same day our own, there I saw some people burned in the streets.

While I was with these enemies in the camp I saw many wonderful instances, all of which I cannot now mention. I saw a child about eighteen months old, which was cast out of the camp because the child was too young, that nobody would buy him; and that poor orphan was there crying at the point of death for about two days, and none to pity or take him up. Another time I took a walk about in the camp, when I saw my own brother. I was not allowed to speak to him, although they knew him to be my own brother. Few days after this the person whom I then belonged to sent me home to his wife for sale; and I was with his wife one day and

a half. She sent for a trade man to examine me. They stripped me naked. The man examined me all over. They then went aside from me to make a bargain, and in a few hours after that the man came again, and my mistress told me to go with the man and fetch some rum. Just as I went out of her sight, the man stripped me of my clothes, and sent them to my mistress. Then I knew that they only deceived me, by telling me to go with the man and fetch some rum.

Then I went with this man, who had just brought me from my mistress. The man tried to feed me, and make me clean as possible for the next market day; one day out of six is generally market day. One morning as the cock crew the man started me, for the following day would be market day; and, when we came to the village near the place where the market was to be held the day after, we there slept; it was then a late hour. Early in the morning we came to the market where many hundreds of slaves. We were put in rows, so that we all could be seen at one view: by the buyers; and in about five hours another trade-man came and bought me, and put me in a canoe at once, and we were sailing all that night. Next morning we came to another slaves' market, by name Krodu, and there we remained the whole day; for they wanted to buy more slaves. At the time of the evening the canoe was quite loaded with slaves, and we sailed for his home directly; we arrived about twelve o'clock in the night. The town that we arrived at is Ikko by name, the place where the Portuguese traded.

Early in the morning we were brought to white Portuguese for sale; after strict examination, the white man put me and some others aside; after that, they then bargained how much he would take for each one of us. After they were well agreed, the white man sent us to the slave fold; and when we enter into it, the slaves shouted for joy for having seen another of their countrymen in the fold. The articles which the Portuguese paid for slaves were tobacco, rum, clothes, powder, guns, cutlasses, brass, iron-rod, and jaki—that is our country money.

The inhabitants of Ikko are very cruel people: they would even sell the children of their own bosom.

I was there in the fold for about two months, with a rope round my neck. All the young boys have ropes on their necks in a row; and all the men with chains in a long row, for about fifty persons in row; so that no one could make escape without the other. At once the town took fire, and about fifty slaves were consumed; because the entry was so crowded that these slaves could not get out. During the time I was in that cruel place, their king was very sick. Three days after his death, we came away over the river, to prepare for shipping: for their custom was, when the king died, to sacrifice about one thousand slaves for the celebration of the king's death; for we supposed at that time, if we still remained in that cruel town, and if the king's slaves should not be enough for the celebration of the king's death, doubtless, they would ask our master for some slaves to make up the number. We all believed this was what induced our master to bring us over the river in haste for shipping.

The place that they brought us to it is Igayi, and we were all naked, both men and women; so that we hardly had any rest in the night, for we were very cold. Next day, early in the morning, we were all brought down close to the salt water to be put in canoes. We all were heavy and sorrowful in heart.

## IS JAMAICA STILL TO BE A SUGAR COLONY?

[From the Baptist Herald.]

Is Jamaica still to be a sugar colony?—is a question that remains to be definitely answered. Whether it is or not, depends upon the manner in which those who are professedly interested in the cultivation of the soil, proceed. A new state of society now exists, and it is folly to think of carrying on the cultivation of the soil with freemen, as with slaves. Men have now to be dealt with, and not cattle. Intellect, and not machinery of flesh and bones. It is preposterous to think of cultivating the soil to advantage by the old machinery of book-keepers, overseers, and attorneys. That it may be carried on advantageously, estates must be rented, or leased for a period of seven, fourteen, or twenty-one years; and no doubt but there are many attorneys and overseers, who would gladly lease them at a fair and equitable rental, thus securing to the land owners something more definite than they at present enjoy. Under the present system it is impossible to make the best of sugar estates. The attorney is cramped in his energies. He perceives, perhaps, that by the present outlay of a few hundred pounds he could materially benefit an estate under his management for years, but he dares not do it but at the risk of the displeasure of the proprietor. The overseer is crippled in his plans, and if he should deviate in the least from the orders of his superior even under some emergency, he stands a chance of being dismissed. Thus both the attorney and overseer, holding their situations upon such uncertain tenures cannot feel that interest, or do that justice to an estate, which they otherwise might, if one or the other held it for a term of years, and their own profits depended upon the return of the estate. Another evil under which some estates labour, is the irregularity of the payments made to the peasantry. It is an adage that "short reckonings make long friends." Where settlements between masters and servants take place with long intervals between, especially where one of the parties cannot keep written accounts, there is likely to be, and there are frequently, disputes about the accuracy of the work performed, or the amount of money due. We could name estates where the labourers have to wait for their money for the taking off the crop until a certain quantity of sugar be ready for shipping, and the bill of lading for shipment duly signed, and sent home prior to, or by the same packet that a bill of exchange is drawn upon the proprietor at home, for the payment of the labourers' hire. In all countries, as far as our knowledge extends, it is the general practice that the labourer should weekly, or at the furthest monthly, receive his wages; this is nothing more than reasonable and just.

In consequence of the cry of alarmists some time since, that no sugar would be made; that the peasantry were squatting, idle, and indisposed to work, the proprietors who received their compensation money in England, instead of investing their capital in the improvement of their estates in this country, have been employing it either in England, or in some other part of the world. The capital thus withheld from the colony, if properly applied might have been productive of vast good in the improvements of estates and system of agriculture.



Within the last half century many improvements have taken place in agriculture in Great Britain, but nothing has been effected in Jamaica; it is true, we have agricultural societies, but they are not carried out with any spirit; indeed they could not be while absentee proprietors cannot feel an interest in them, and the attorneys, and overseers, are in a manner forbidden to try any experiments upon the estates under their care, upon any extensive scale. We do not find that the Jamaica agriculturists pay any attention to the rotation of crops. Lands thrown up for the cultivation of cane, remain ruinous, it may be for several years, yet they probably might be planted to advantage, with either food, or cattle, or for man. As it regards manures, the same old plan is pursued, whether the soil is heavy, or light, hilly or upon a level, dry or wet. The improvement in implements or machinery goes on but at a slow rate, if at all. And the roads for which so much money is voted from time to time, are in many instances almost impassable, so that it is both difficult and expensive to convey the produce to the wharves to be shipped.

If attention be paid to the cultivation of the soil in a proper spirit and manner by the owners of estates, leasing them to industrious and honest men, we hesitate not to say that there is labour enough to be obtained, and that at a reasonable rate, to carry on the cultivation of sugar; and that instead of a diminution of the exports, an increase might be anticipated, and a general improvement in the productions of the soil take place: but if there be neglect, and no alteration made in the management of estates, it cannot be expected that the cultivation of sugar will be more extensive, but will decline.

### ESCAPES FROM SLAVE COLONIES.

From M. Schœlcher's work on Slavery in the French Colonies.

Neither vigilance nor known perils can stop the slaves. The irrepressible desire of liberty which exists in man makes them dare all, and suggests to them admirable plans for the attainment of their object. The following fact presents a feature so original that it deserves to be recorded. It came to us from the mouth of an inhabitant.

Five negroes of Guadeloupe formed a project of escaping from the coast adjacent to Antigua. Two of them failed at the hour of rendezvous, and, on arriving at the spot, saw their three associates, who, fearing treachery, were already on the sea. Running with all haste to the house of M. X., their master, they cry "Master, see; three negroes are escaping." M. X. gives a glass of rum to the faithful informers, throws himself with them into a boat, and with the force of oars pursues the fugitives; but, with every effort of the two rowers, they can only just keep the chase in sight. "Master, there are three against two." M. X. takes off his white vest, and applies himself also to the oar. At length they arrive at Antigua. The three negroes land first; M. X. follows in his turn; and then his two negroes exclaim, "Good master, we did not know how to rejoin the canoe which had failed us; you have brought us yourself: thanks!" and they fled from him. M. X. demanded redress, but found he could obtain none. The next day he was obliged, sorrowfully, to hire some people, in order to return to Guadeloupe.

For "connecting links between the man and the brute," the ruse was not a bad one.

### COST OF MAKING SUGAR.

From the Guiana Gazette and Advertiser.

As the attempt to reduce the cost of the production of sugar in this colony, by reducing the wages of the labourers, must be considered to have wholly failed, it is time that those interested in the cultivation of sugar should look about for some other means of effecting that desirable object.

In the statement of the expenses of sixty sugar estates, appended to the Report of the 1st of December, according to which the average expense of producing a hoghead of sugar in this colony, is ninety-eight dollars eighty-one cents, those expenses are arranged under three principal heads, viz., labour, salaries, and other expenses; and the salaries and other expenses make up just about half of the total amount. As the attempt to make a reduction in that half of the expenses paid for labour has proved unsuccessful, the only remaining resource seems to be to reduce, if possible, the other half of the expenses.

As the Committee, from which emanated the Report of the 1st of December, have not given us the items which go to make up the gross amount, included under the general head "other expenses," we are left more in the dark than could be desired, and are deprived of a piece of colonial statistics which could not fail to be highly interesting and useful, and which would have been of great use as a guide towards the reductions which have become necessary, and might be practicable.

There are two points, however, upon which any body can see that a very considerable reduction of expenses might be effected without any injury to the cultivation.

The custom now is, that every sugar plantation keeps up its own drogher, for the transportation of its produce to town and its supplies back; a practice which not only involves a very considerable outlay in the original purchase of the boat, but which gives rise to endless expenses, in the way of repairs, and in the wages of the boat's people.

These people, as they have no interest in the boat, pay very little attention to her, and the sails and rigging, so liable to decay in all climates, and especially in this, annually become a great bill of expense; while the boats and their crew are a great part of the time idle.

When an estate made six or seven hundred hogheads of sugar, as some estates formerly did, it might be good policy to keep a boat, for which ample employment was found in the transportation of produce and supplies; but, what business, we should like to know, has an estate making from 150 to 250 hogheads of sugar with an expensive boat of its own, which it cannot keep half the time employed? While so many proprietors were lately putting up new cottages, employment was found for the estates' boats in the transportation of lumber; but, as the

erection of new cottages has, in a great measure, ceased, that employment has ceased also.

Twenty years ago, if we are not misinformed, very few estates had their own boats, and the drogherage was done by boats owned in town. As the supply of these boats was in the hands of a few merchants, and as they could not always be had when wanted, the estates got into the way of having their own boats. Under the existing state of things, there would be no difficulty at any time in hiring drogherage at a reasonable price, and there cannot be a doubt, that the transportation for the several estates might be carried on in this way, far more economically than at present. Here then is a retrenchment which merits the attention of proprietors.

Another considerable saving might be made by combining the duties of attorney and manager, and thus saving a part of that very considerable sum, which, according to existing arrangements, in the case of all estates owned by non-residents, goes into the pocket of the attorney.

No man is fit to be the manager of an estate, who is not also fit to be attorney of it; and it would tend greatly to elevate the character of the managers, and to increase their exertions for the benefit of the estates in their charge, if they had a direct interest in increasing the amount of produce made, and if they were delivered from the humiliating thralldom in which they are too often held by the attorneys.

It is also worthy of serious consideration, whether much might not be done for the benefit of the estates, not by abolishing the office of overseers, as some have proposed, but by elevating that office into a more respectable rank than it now holds; protecting it, to a certain extent, from the caprice of the managers; giving the overseers a surer tenure of their offices; interesting them in the welfare of the estates; and making them, to a certain extent, checks on the manager and on each other.

The old system of the management of estates was a pure tyranny from beginning to end, and at least had the merit of simplicity. The attorney lorded it over the manager; the manager over the overseers; the overseers over the drivers; and the drivers over their fellow-slaves. As the two lower steps of this pyramid of tyranny have been overturned, there seems to be no advantage, but on the contrary, much disadvantage in retaining the other two; and we are perfectly satisfied, that in order to obtain from the labourers that "good work," that faithful performance of the labour which they undertake, to which so much importance is so justly ascribed, a very considerable change is necessary in the existing machinery of superintendence. It is in vain to expect the labourers to perform this good work, unless they are closely looked after; and it is in vain to expect the manager and overseers to look after them, unless they be furnished with some strong personal inducement for doing so.

### Miscellaneous.

SAVE ME FROM MY FRIENDS.—The *Colonial Gazette* is thus rebuked for its late remarks on the Anti-Slavery Society, by the *Morning Herald*.

"The society has detractors who, not content with taunting it with its own demerits, obscure its good points by charging against it matters over which it has no control, and other men's crotchets and absurdities. The late high prices of sugar, the scarcity of labour in the tropical colonies, the failure of the slave-trade treaties, the impossibility of putting down that infernal traffic by cruisers or the right of search, the Niger expedition, and the loss of human life caused thereby, are all heaped on the broad shoulders of this society by some of its foolishly vituperative opponents. For these results and events the Anti-Slavery Society is as little responsible as it is for the refusal of France to ratify the treaty of December last.

"The slave-trade treaties, and the exchange of the right of search, arose out of the sufficiency of the belligerent right of search, as exercised by England during the last European war, to suppress the African slave-trade. The English government, on the re-establishment of peace, seems to have concluded that the right of search, which had proved so efficacious to keep down the slave-trade during the war, would be equally powerful if exercised in time of peace. Hence the endeavour to procure the interchange by the nations of Christendom if that right became part of the policy of England, which has since the close of the war been incessantly acted on. Twenty-eight years of peace have practically demonstrated the insufficiency of this right of search during peace to keep down the slave-trade, though its exercise has cost England in that period not less than ten millions sterling, and is a great cause of the general dislike with which this country is regarded by foreign states. But to connect our treaties with other nations exchanging this right with the Anti-Slavery Society, as there is now a disposition to do, is to display an ignorance as profound as it is ridiculous; it is to convert an association of amiable, though frequently mistaken enthusiasts, and of sentimental philanthropists, into the government of the country, when it is notorious that this Society was in its old form one of the most determined and effective opponents of that government.

"It is an equally great, though perhaps a more excusable mistake, to attribute the Niger expedition to this Society; that scandalous and deplorable manslaughter originated with its rivals for popular applause and subscription. Sir Fowell Buxton and Sir George Stephen, and their adherents, are in opposition to the Anti-Slavery Society; they keep an opposition shop for the sale of an inferior description of philanthropy. The Committee of the Society took no part in promoting the Niger expedition, and individually, we are told, its members were quite opposed to that monstrous scheme of death."

DR. SPALDING, one of the greatest advocates of slavery in old times and of immigration now, is on his way to England. He is said to bear an address from the House of Assembly to the Queen, on the birth of the Prince of Wales; and also a recommendation from Sir C. Metcalfe to be raised to a baronetcy. A volume would not suffice to relate his recent oppressions and cruelties to the poor immigrants.

AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS.—A ship (the *Marlborough*) bringing African labourers, 104 adults, one girl, and five infants, arrived on Tuesday, in sixteen days from the river Gambia. On their arrival, his Excellency the Lieutenant-governor assembled the council, who advised the immediate appointment of an immigration agent, to act according to the provisions of the bill which lately passed the legislature, but has not yet become law.—*St. Vincent's Gazette*.



**THE IRISH ANTI-SLAVERY ADDRESS.**—At a recent meeting in Dublin, Mr. James Haughton spoke as follows:—"The character of our country is, at this moment, in peril on this account. Many of you will, no doubt, recollect the address we sent out last Christmas to our countrymen and countrywomen in America on this important subject; it was signed by sixty or seventy thousand Irishmen and women, lovers of liberty, and all of them, I hope, haters of slavery. Some degenerate sons of Erin in America, forgetful of their duty as men, and forgetful of the honour of their country before the nations of the earth, have endeavoured to throw discredit on that noble, that affectionate address. It does not contain one unworthy sentiment, not a single sentiment which a true Irishman would not willingly adopt in any quarter of the earth. I will read it for you, and then you will judge for yourselves what a degraded being must that Irishman be who refuses to respond to such sentiments, and to glory in them too. The American Union, my friends, consists of twenty-six states, each independent of all the others; thirteen of these are slave, and thirteen of them free states; the free states have no authority to interfere in making laws in the slave states. Of course, we do not ask our countrymen in America to do anything in opposition to the constitution of their adopted country. We do not ask them to abolish slavery there by violence; we only beg of them to be true men, true lovers of liberty, and not to disgrace Ireland, or their own human nature, by being false friends at the moment they are called upon to uphold the truth and the rights of humanity. Let us, my fellow-citizens, send our free voices across the Atlantic; let us make them sound gloriously in the ears of Irishmen and Irishwomen in America, who really love liberty, encouraging them in their noble efforts to gain freedom for every child of God in that land, and sounding as deep notes of reprobation in the ears of all who are false to its principles. These men, if men they deserve to be called, prate loudly of their love of fatherland; they have no love for it; they are a disgrace to us; their proffered sympathy injures us in our efforts to shake off oppression at home. We should reject it with scorn; it is only the sympathy of the bold and the free that we can receive and be grateful for. It is with such spirits, and with such spirits only, that we can unite for the carrying onward the work of improvement."

**JAMAICA.**—Extract of a letter from a late member of the House of Assembly, to Mr. Sturge, dated, Spanish Town, April 14th, 1842:—"We are all quiet now. There is little to complain of except the emigration; the scheme has been useless and ruinously expensive; the sufferings and death amongst the Europeans have been quite appalling. Some one must be properly chargeable with guilt on their account. There has been, and still is, much distress, both amongst planters and merchants, arising, merely, I believe, from the drought which nearly burnt up the crops of the two years that followed the abolition of the apprenticeship. The crop now being reaped will be the first from which a judgment can properly be formed of the results of the new system. On many estates it will be large, and generally, I believe, a good average crop. But you will find men here almost as much divided in opinion as they are in London; and just as obstinate and unmanageable. Distress generally makes men deaf to reason. The Jamaica planter is under peculiar disadvantages. One told me the other day, that, on a pretty good crop the taxes formed a charge of £8 currency, I believe, on each hogshead. Then, how much is to be put to the amount of absenteeism per hogshead? I have known estates that have been carried on for years by individuals in representative capacities at a great loss; but for these tenants readily offered. Again, is not the whole shipping a monopoly in the hands of merchants—mortgagees: and is not the homeward freight of £5 sterling per ton a heavier charge than burdens the sugars of any other sugar growing countries; Mr. Lloyd told me the other day, that, on the sugars of our neighbours the Cubans, it is not more than 40s. per ton from their island to the ports of the Mediterranean—a longer voyage than to England. The working of the estates by deputy and monopoly together, not forgetting our intolerable island taxation, are disabilities of far greater moment than the alleged exorbitant wages, and non-working of the negroes. This has been absurdly, and in many cases wickedly, exaggerated."

**HOW TO GET IMMIGRANTS.**—A correspondent from Port Maria to the *Morning Journal* states, that twenty-five or thirty Africans (immigrants) lately landed for Wentworth estate, who are ready to swear that the agent who engaged them at Sierra Leone promised them that their wages should be four shillings per day, with feeding and cottages, and that they would not be required to work in the fields, as there was plenty of other work on the farms (estates). On being landed and sent to Wentworth, they are told they will get one shilling per day, and a little rice!

**SLAVE TRADE.**—The stigma of participating in the infernal slave traffic is, we regret to find, attached to what is said to be a British vessel. Captain Sannier, of the French *Paquette de Rio*, which has entered the Loire, from Senegal, reports, that on the 28th February, and in the River Gambia, he fell in with a three-masted English ship, of 400 tons burthen, on board of which he distinctly saw negroes. There are two things it seems necessary to ascertain, first, whether the vessel in question rightly carried English colours; and secondly, if so, whether she had slaves on board.—*Morning Advertiser*.

*Rio de Janeiro, February 12th, 1842.*

A few days since, a large ship (a slaver) sailed from this port under American colours, for the African coast. An English frigate, which was lying in port, knew her destination, and determined to capture her. They met a few miles outside the harbour: the frigate sent her boat to board the American ship; the officer in command was told to keep off, or they would fire into him. The boat kept on, when the Yankee let loose a gun upon him. The commander of the *John Bull* frigate then hailed that he would fire into him, if he did not heave to. "Fire and be —," was the reply, accompanied by a broadside from the well-trained guns of the Yankee, which carried away the fore and main yards of the frigate. The fellow crowded all sail, and was out of the range of the frigate's guns before he well knew what was the matter with him. I saw the frigate afterwards; her mainyard was down, and they were in the act of sending down the fore, which I could see had been much damaged. The Englishman declares he will have the ship, if he loses his vessel in the undertaking.—*Baltimore Patriot*.

A letter from an officer of her Majesty's sloop *Fantome*, Captain Butterfield, dated the 14th of February, off Ambriz, states, that they had captured, on the 12th two slave vessels, one name unknown, with 505 slaves, and the other the *Diligencia*, with 410 slaves on board. This makes ten vessels captured, and 2261 slaves liberated, by that vessel in the twenty months she has been employed on the coast of Angola.—*Hants Telegraph*.

**CAPTURE OF A SLAVE SHIP.**—On Sunday the 6th of February, when in latitude twenty-six degrees twenty minutes S., and longitude forty-three degrees twenty-five minutes W., her Majesty's brig *Partridge*, Lieutenant Wm. Morris, commander, proceeding from the River Plate to Rio de Janeiro, with the mail, fell in with and captured a very fine brig of 240 tons, under Portuguese colours, and called the *St. Antonio*. The vessel had a slave deck laid, and was furnished with water and provisions for 600 slaves; she had left St. Sebastian only a few days previous to her capture, and was bound to Ambriz, where a full cargo of slaves was said to be ready for her.—*Ibid*.

**SUSPECTED SLAVER.**—We extract the following paragraph from a letter received from Mr. Trew, dated at sea, 15th March:—"On our entering the harbour of St. Thomas, an American brig, fitted out as a sort of steamer, having a propelling power, was just proceeding on her voyage, but nobody knew whither. It is said, that she receives slaves from vessels engaged in that trade on the coast of Cuba and Porto Rico, and carries them rapidly to their destination. One fact, however, affords strong suspicion of her being a slaver, namely, that some Jamaica gentlemen, who were seeking a passage from St. Thomas's to that island, offered the captain of the brig 1400 dollars to convey them to Port Royal (Jamaica), which he refused, demanding 2000 dollars for a service requiring only about three days to perform. The brig quitted the harbour without a passenger.—*Friend of Africa*."

**GREEK SLAVE-TRADE.**—Patras, March 23, 1842.—Two vessels with slaves from the Barbary coast anchored at the port of Navarino lately—one under the Ottoman flag, and the other under that of Samos; the latter was in that port on the 12th instant, and was not molested by the Greek government! So much for the execution of the Greek law prohibiting the trade in slaves.

**DOMESTIC SECURITY OF SLAVE-HOLDERS.**—A Mississippi paper gives an account of a whole family, in the village of Hainsville, by the name of Wilson, father, mother, sister, and infant child, killed with a broad-axe by a slave, in resentment for chastisement he had received. The *Knoxville* (Tennessee) *Register* informs us of the murder of Mr. Maham's wife and daughter, in McKew county, during his absence. Their heads were split open with a broad-axe by a slave. A little girl, just beginning to run alone, was found sitting on the dead body of her sister, apparently unconscious of the dreadful scene. The murderer has been taken. The *Savannah* (Georgia) *Republican* informs us that Robert Cunningham, Esq., of Jefferson county, was shot by one of his negroes, while reading, and instantly expired. The slave was caught and confessed the deed.

Intelligence has been received of a formidable attempt at insurrection, which was made in the month of May last by the slaves belonging to the Spanish island of San Andreas. Providentially the plot exploded before it was altogether ripe, or the results might have been most fatal; the intention being to fire the public buildings and massacre every white male inhabitant of the island.

**UNITED STATES.—THE DECISION IN THE SUPREME COURT.**—A distinguished constitutional lawyer in Ohio, writes as follows:—"It seems to me that the decision of the Supreme Court, while it asserts a monstrous principle which in effect repeals the Habeas Corpus acts of all the states, and all other securities of personal freedom, in effect annihilates all practicable reclamation of fugitives from service. It sends the claimant after his slave without the protection of legal proofs, and he will find it hard to catch him, and, when caught, harder to get him before a United States judge, or out of the state. It legalizes trespasses, and the trespasser will be apt to find force repelled by force. Besides, it absolves the state governments from all obligation to legislate on the subject, and throws the whole burden of such legislation on congress. To congress, now, petitions for the jury trial must be addressed. This must introduce the whole subject of the relations of slavery to the general government into discussion. In these points of view, I regard the decision as a great gain to liberty."

**AWFUL CASE OF REMORSE IN A SLAVE-HOLDER.**—We learn from the letter of a friend, that Captain James Petit, residing near McNairs, in Polk county, Tennessee, committed suicide on the 19th of February, by blowing out his brains with a rifle. He placed the muzzle of the gun directly between his eyes, and discharged it by a string attached in some way to the trigger. He had no white family, nor was there any person on the premises except his negroes—twenty-seven in number. A jury of inquest was summoned, and the manner in which the deceased came to his death settled; after which a portion of the jury took charge of his effects. They got his keys, and upon opening the first trunk found his will, written six days previous, by which two of the jury then present were appointed his executors. They also found in the same trunk, ten thousand dollars in gold and silver. The purport of the will was, that his negroes should be freed, and all his personal effects, together with the cash on hand, divided amongst them.—*Highland (S. C.) Sentinel*.

**LAWS AGAINST COLOUR.**—A Bill has passed the House of Delegates of the Maryland legislature, which provides that any free negro or mulatto, who shall come into the state, after the passing of the act, may be arrested by any person, and shall be adjudged to be his slave. And any free negro, who shall leave the state and return to it, shall be liable to the same penalty—unless, in both cases, they are travelling as servants of a white person. The fact that they are in the state, to be prima facie evidence that they have come into it contrary to law. The rest of the Bill, which contains thirty-five sections, is in the same liberal spirit. Every delegate from Baltimore voted against it; it passed, however, and is now before the senate.—*Philadelphia Ledger*.

Printed by WILLIAM JOHNSTON, and RICHARD BARRETT, of 13, Mark Lane, in the Parish of All Hallows Staining, and City of London: and Published by LANCELOT WILDE, of 13, Catherine Street, Strand, in the Parish of St. Mary-le-Strand, and City of Westminster, at 13, Catherine Street, Strand, as aforesaid. Sold by W. EVERITT, 10, Finch Lane, Cornhill. June 15th, 1842.